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tions. Sometimes several lineages can claim this right, and the structural differentiation and the type of connecting link between them is revealed in the resulting disputes.

IMPORTANT MEN AMONG THE LUO

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There is no real political office in the Luo tribes, but there are a number of people who are of notable status.

The Ruoth

The *ruoth* is simply an influential man. He is richer in wives and cattle than most people, and he may help a poor man to marry by giving him a cow. Any man may become a *ruoth*, although he is usually a member of the dominant clan of the tribe. No such political or ritual significance are attached to the Luo *ruoth* as are associated with the Lango and Acholi *rwodi*.(1)

Thuondi

The *thuondi* are warriors of reputation. They lead all the raids against the tribal enemies. Their position depends entirely on individual ability in war, and therefore they are not necessarily succeeded by their sons.

The Won Gweng

The won *gweng* is the father of the land and a man of influence in every district. He is a senior member of a lineage of the dominant clan of the tribe, and settles land disputes within the tribe. He also sacrifices to the sacred spear of the clan, and points it towards the enemy before a tribal war begins.(2)

RITUAL EXPERTS

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The *jabilo* is the most important of the ritual experts and the chief tribal figure. There may be more than one *jabilo* in each tribal segment, but usually one is more influential than the rest. The *jabilo* inherits his position from his father. His functions include divination of the fortunes of war, cursing the enemy and making magic to secure victory. Although he does not accompany the warriors, the *jabilo* receives part of the spoil in return for his services and is, therefore, usually a *ruoth* - a rich man. A further investigation of the *jabilo*'s place in society would be particularly interesting. It is said that he was also a peace-maker and could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard-skin along the ground between the two opposing sides.(3) The *jabilo* sometimes exercises the functions of rain-maker (*jaboth* or *won koth*).

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Luo tribal structure appears to be, in all essentials, similar to that of the Nuer; the typical segmentary lineage structure, associated

(1) Evans-Pritchard, *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal*, 1949, No.VII, p.5.
(2) *Ibid.*, pp.5-6.
(3) *Ibid.*, p.6.
cf. Nuer leopard-skin chief.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1936) 1949
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sented the senior lineage of the clan sacrificed to the sacred spear of the clan and pointed it towards the enemy before tribal war.

There were also a number of ritual experts. The most important of these, and the most important tribal figures among the Luo, seems to have been the *jabilo*, who in the language of African literature would be described as a tribal medicine-man or witchdoctor. There was one of these functionaries in each large tribal segment but one in a tribe was generally more influential than the others and a tribe requiring the services of an exceptionally famous *jabilo* might ask for them even if he lived in a distant tribe. His functions, which tended to pass from father to son, are said to have been to divine the fortunes of war, to curse the enemy, and to make magic to secure victory and the safety of the warriors. He kept his *bilo*, war magic, in horns in a granary. He did not himself accompany a raid but in return for his ritual services he received part of the spoils and according to some informants was entrusted with its division. Consequently he was a *ruoth*, man of substance. The *jabilo* was also, at least sometimes, the *jokoth* or *won koth*, the rainmaker, while at other times the rainmaker seems to have been a different person to the *jabilo*. Rainmakers among neighbouring Bantu peoples were also appealed to. It is also said that the people had to wait permission of the *jabilo* to sow and that he had ritual functions in cases of homicide within the tribe and that he was a peacemaker who could intervene in a fight by dragging his leopard skin along the ground between the two sides.

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In each tribe there is a dominant clan or lineage. The characteristics of a Luo clan are much the same as those I have described for the Nuer.

The Luo clan (*dho ot*) has a lineage structure, which means that every member of it can trace his exact genealogical relationship to every other member. Lineages (*dho udi*) are differentiated by adding to the name of a clan or of a larger lineage the copulative *ma* and the name of a smaller branch, as among the Lango, e.g. *Joseje ma Jokayila* are the Jokayila major lineage of the Joseje maximal lineage of the JoAlego clan. Collateral lineages are sometimes said to be *kanyiego*, presumably from *nyieka*, co-*wife*, to one another.

These larger clans associated with tribal territories are not always exogamous to-day, though they are believed to have been so in past times. It would be confusing to speak of two groups identical in their structural features by different terms because maximal lineages cannot intermarry in one and can intermarry in the other, so I use the word 'clan' for both, having stated a qualification to the accepted use of the term. Marriage is generally forbidden within the clan but it is recognised that the distance between maximal lineages may become so great, both in lineage-distance and through political and social separation, as to allow intermarriage between them. This has happened in the JoAlego clan of Alego where two main lineages, the JoSeje and the KaDenge quarrelled and now intermarry sometimes. On the other hand marriage is not permitted within such big clans as the KaNyikal of Seme, the KaRacuonyo of Karacuonyo, and

795 Lastly, my followers must immediately slaughter all their cattle, sheep, and goats. When this is done, I will provide them with as many more as they want from the Lake." Having said this, the snake disappeared into the lake.

Onyango soon set about spreading his gospel and, as was natural with so attractive a programme, it was not long before he had a considerable following. They were divided into what may be described as two Degrees. The First Degree consisted of those personally "called" [786] in very much the same way as Onyango had been " called." They were all men, mostly older men and the heads of Bomas. The "call" consisted in their throwing some kind of fit, possibly an ecstacy of religious exaltation, during which words poured from them in an un- [791] intelligible torrent. They became the priests and were in tremendous demand as witch-doctors since they soon were invested with, or themselves assumed supernatural powers.

761 For example, they were reputed to be able to recall to life a dying person or one who had just died. The procedure here began with the 795 priest's acceptance of a goat as his fee. The patient, or corpse was stretched on the ground and lightly covered with freshly cut grass, some of which was twisted into a thick rope round the neck. This rope was called " Buombwe."

The goat was next sacrificed and its blood sprinkled over the grass, the while the priest called loudly on Mumbo to save the dying man or to restore to life the corpse—as the case might be, generally with but indifferent success.

795 The Second Degree consisted of all the dependants, male and female, of those especially " Called " by Mumbo himself, and also any other people who, although not specifically " Called," chose to join the cult.

795 At sunrise and at sunset all Mumboites stand facing the sun with 788 the first finger and thumb of each hand meeting to form a circle and 782 held up to the eyes like binoculars. Having gazed at the sun intensely until they are completely dazzled, they stretch out their arms towards it and break into rapid and often unintelligible prayer. This is interesting in that the ancient Luo religion was—and in places still is—that of sun worship. Occasionally when they feel like it they also pray thus to the Lake, and even, it is said, sacrifice cattle, throwing the meat into the Lake to the crocodiles.

795 As was to be expected from a retrogressive religion which not only 782 encouraged but ordained idleness and uncleanliness, it was not long 859 before its adherents, having nothing to do or to think about, began to indulge in unpleasant practices which the normal Jaluo, however uncivilised he might be, held in abhorrence. The communal enjoyment of women, including incest, bhang smoking, sodomy, and even bestiality, all made their appearance, though these practices seem to

789 elders gathered to offer sacrifice and supplicate the local spirit,
782 together with the clan spirits, in times of great drought, but this is
776 entirely different from the rain-making cult. Even in this instance, it is doubtful whether the ceremony has not been influenced in large measure by the neighbouring Bantu peoples. The particular guardian spirit of this hill, is reputed to be a fabulously big snake, so enormous as to be able to encircle the hill with its body. Away from the Lake shore, which suffers most from uncertain rainfall, the Luo account very easily for the fact that they have no rain-makers. They simply say that they never have lack of rain, so why should they have rain-makers.

●791 But though they have no rain-makers, they have a term for rain-maker, whom they call "Jajimb koth." When they need a rain-maker they employ either a Bantu from the Basiekwe clan of the Banyole, or one from Mudhiero, Yiro in Marama. And, of course, it is not alone for agriculture that rain is needed. The fishing in the rivers suffers greatly when the rivers run low, and fishermen not infrequently call in the aid of the rain-maker. On the lower reaches [782] of the Nzoia River, there existed a custom now happily extinct, according to which human sacrifice was made to the spirit of the river. The unfortunate person to be sacrificed was a girl, generally a young one and ill-favoured, who was bound, and some accounts say stunned, before being cast into the river. Rain-makers still flourish, though shorn of much of their influence and tribute. Only a few years ago I was in Uyoma during a time of rain shortage. I happened to be collecting genealogies, and was visiting the old men for this purpose. The conversation turned on the lack of rain, and I asked had they sent for the rain-maker. I really did not expect that they would have done so, and was somewhat surprised to find that they had sent their offerings to one of the Bantu of the Basiekwe clan. It seemed a pity that they should waste their substance on what could do them no earthly good, so I spent some time trying to convince them that the [609] rain-maker had no power to bring rain. They listened very politely, but at the end of it were "of the same opinion still." I left them gently poking fun at them for being so credulous. I was about a mile or less from my camp, and during my walk home, suddenly, from nowhere, clouds rushed up, a violent rain storm pelted down and I got thoroughly drenched. I would have given a good deal to have been able to listen to the comments of those who had heard so politely my well-meant arguments. Incidents somewhat like this are, no doubt, responsible for the deep seated faith in the rain-makers' powers. It did not convince me.

241 The preparation of the soil for the seed was, and is, performed
791 without any ceremony of invocation preceding it, except when the land had been taken in conquest from enemies. In the latter case the

241 " Jabilo " or leading medicine-man of the community concerned per-
•791 formed a sacrifice or " misango " the purpose of which was to render ineffectual any harmful magic left behind in the soil by those from whom it had been taken. It occasionally happens even to-day that a cultivator will suspect that an enemy has buried " yath " or harmful medicine in a field. In this case no preparation of the soil of this field for a crop is begun until a diviner has been consulted in order to find out the enemy. The Luo have a great faith in the power of the diviner to discover an enemy. That the diviner denounces people, and that he is oft times right, cannot be denied. Sometimes it may be guess work, as when there has been a notorious quarrel and it is simple to suspect the other party in the quarrel, but at times the medicine man has more certain sources of information. In the year 1910 I had the good fortune to get into rather friendly relationships with a medicine man who had become a Christian. In one of our conversations I asked him how it was possible to divine a wrongdoer. He told me that it was generally very easy. If a man wished to put down medicine, he had to procure it from a medicine man. Or, if he proposed to rob his neighbour he applied to the medicine man for protective medicine. Following upon the injury or the robbery, the injured party applied to the local medicine man in order to find out the enemy. If the injured person was prepared to pay a fee exceeding that paid by the enemy, the medicine man had no scruples about giving his client away. But I do not say that this is a complete explanation of all the powers of divination exercised by medicine men. Still, there can be no doubt that often both parties consult the same diviner, just as at times in our own social life both parties to a lawsuit will approach the same lawyer. Perhaps I had better safeguard myself. I am not, please, to be understood as implying that a lawyer will give his client away.

241 In the preparation of the soil for the crop, all members of the family who are fit, take their share. Only in bush country, where there is heavy clearing to be done, is the work left to the men. This operation is called " bete." In all other types of land there is no discrimination between the sexes, even where tall grass, called " olenge," has to be dug up. But there is a certain amount of dis-
241 crimination amongst the age groups. When a man has advanced in
887 years, and younger members of his family are sufficient for food production, he leaves it to them, while he devotes himself to less arduous tasks, possibly herding, or some form of social service such as the elders perform in settling the lawsuits of the clan.

241 The next operation after "bete " is " puro," the turning over of the soil. Where weeds or grass have been heavy, this is followed by " wang'o " or burning. In sandy, stony or red soil, sowing the seed

241 common to allow some of the sturdier roots to spring up again and give a second crop. I have seen some very fine heads of grain as a result of this method.

251 The crop is stored, unthreshed if millet or maize, in large basket-
578 like receptacles, covered with thatch and standing on stones or supported on forked sticks across which a rough platform is made. It is the work of the man to prepare the grain stores, and I suppose that there is no more prolific source of domestic bickering than these supply. Some men are shiftless, and leave off the preparation of the stores until near to harvest, sometimes exhausting in so doing the patience of the wife. Or he may be neglectful, and leave the thatch unrepaired, rendering the grain liable to suffer from the weather. Many women would far rather see the living hut left in disrepair than that the grain should be imperilled.

251 The stores varies in size according to the grain for which it is
285 intended. The large size is for millet and maize, the small for the small millet and simsim. The Luo name for them is "dero." The large sizes run up to six feet high by about six feet in diameter. The small about four feet by three. They are made from swamp reeds built in a very coarse basket work fashion, and are finished off with a coating of cow dung inside. The better made stores have provision for access to the grain, by the simple device of cutting away a section from the top of the side, just under the thatch. It used to be the custom for a present of a small basket of grain to be given to the [931] Jobilo or medicine man, after harvest. This custom has already died 781 out in many places.

241 It was the woman's first care to secure seed for the next year.
962 Millet and maize was hung in the head, sometimes outside from the branch of a tree, more frequently from the roof of the hut. Smaller grain, and beans were stored in pots in the living hut, and to ensure their being kept in good condition, it was the woman's duty to empty the contents of the pots periodically onto a "thigo" or large circular flat basket work tray, or some part of the courtyard swept clean, that the sun might keep them dry. Seeds of seeds, owing to a planting dying off from lack of rain was a serious matter. Seed was then begged from neighbours more fortunate.

962 Not all the grain went into the common store, for all the cultiva-
963 tion was by no means the common united effort of all the members of the family. The main effort of the members was put into the fields from which all were to draw their food supply, but in addition individual members had their own plots which are called "mondo." The head of the family would have his own "mondo," and the grain from this went into a separate store. This grain formed a reserve in

Similarly, during this time she must be careful where she walks. She can ruin a crop by walking through it. But, of course, in this case, she would suffer with the other members of the family.

From early childhood the girl is brought up as an agricultural labourer. There was no class of women divorced from the soil. The only class whose labours in agriculture were lightened were the women who belonged to the divining cult of " SEWE." Sewe is the spirit of divination and is supposed to have descended on those who have been delirious in illness. The delirium is the sign of possession. The devotees of the cult are mainly women, and they are a fairly common sight as they go about their avocation. They are skilled beggars as well as diviners. With their bodies festooned with strings of beads, shells, bells and other barbaric ornaments, they pass from kraal to kraal, and standing with their bodies leaning forward supported by a hand resting on a short stick they sing songs of the countryside and and are rewarded by presents of small baskets of grain. In this way women who have been ill are enabled to help to replenish the grain stores, which have probably run low during the illness.

Gradually a change is coming over the life of the women, due to white influence. Ploughing by the men with teams of oxen, is setting women free for other tasks. This movement is by no means widespread, but it has begun, and its effect on the women has been great. Even if the husband has no team and plough himself, many wives do not rest content until the husband has hired a plough owner to come along and plough up the land. It is not unusual for ploughs to be taken 15 miles for this purpose. Again, the use of hand mills of the " Colonist " type, is easing women of much labour at the grind stones. These are much more common than ploughs, probably there are twenty mills for every plough in use. This is partly accounted for by the fact that the mills are turned by hand power, not by oxen. At this labour girls and women take their share, but whereas you would never see a man down on his knees at the grindstone, you do see them turning a mill. New activities are employing the time of many women, and those who have learned to knit or make palm mats in recent years are rapidly increasing in numbers.

Child Labour:

Generally speaking, from early childhood, all are required to make some contribution to the activities of the home. Girls for the fields, and boys for herding, is the broad division of labour, though the boys also lend a hand in the fields, and, very occasionally, a girl or women may be seen herding. With the opening up of avenues of wage-earning to the boys on coffee and tea estates, and in other forms of employment, the male child is being made by impecuni-
[illegible]

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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and secures a large following, and thus becomes a powerful chief.

Petty thefts from houses are dealt with by a medicine-man who discovers the culprit. He goes to the village in which the suspected person lives, takes an ordinary stool, sets it in an open space in the village, fills the hollow of the seat with water and covers it with an inverted cooking-pot. Having done this he goes through a formula mentioning the names of the families of the village, and at length mentions the names of the suspected family individually, until at last he names the person accused. When the name of the guilty person is mentioned, the water on the stool is said to flow from under the pot. The person thus convicted is fined and, in addition to his fine, he is compelled to restore the full amount of property he has stolen.

Adultery. When a man is accused of adultery, he is tried and, if found guilty, is fined an ox which is given to the injured man. An unfaithful wife, who leaves her husband, may be restored to him and he will not think the worse of her. Should she refuse to return to her husband, her father must either supply the husband with another wife, a sister of his former wife, or restore the marriage-fee. Unmarried women are given great license and are not considered guilty of an immoral action when they have sexual relations before marriage.

Murder. A murderer is discovered by means of the oracle. A medicine-man is asked to discover the murderer and, when he names the person, the relatives of the murdered man accuse the murderer. The accused is ordered to bring his son, and the medicine-man, after making incantations over a pot of drugs, gives the boy a cup of it to drink. If the father is guilty, the son will die at once; whereas, if he is innocent, the boy will suffer no harm. When a man is proved to be guilty or acknowledges his guilt, he is fined a number of cows and has to give his daughter or sister to the father of the murdered man. A murderer seldom seeks safety by flight when he has committed his deed, and often confesses his guilt without any trial, avowing the motives of his act. There is a special ceremony to purify a murderer. He is first separated from the members

10: Roscoe M-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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776 782 flesh is cooked and eaten near by, though sometimes the meat is taken a little distance away and is not eaten under the shadow of the tree.

789 791 **Rain-making.** Rain-making is an important ceremony, but it is performed by a Musoga priest who lives among the people for the purpose of assisting them in discharging those religious obligations which they consider necessary yet do not themselves understand how to perform. The man is treated with great respect and has a comfortable existence among them.

Relationships.

601 **Terms of relationship.** The following terms of relationship were supplied by the Rev. J. J. Willis, now Bishop of Uganda, formerly a C.M.S. Missionary at Maseno, Kavirondo, who says that the pronominal forms for Father and Mother are used, that is, each person says "My father" or "My mother" (m.s. = man speaks, w.s. = woman speaks).

Father, won, wora
Mother, min, mama
Eldest brother (m.s.), kayo, ng'amodwong'ena
Eldest sister (w.s.), nyamin madwong', nyamera madwong'
Sister (m.s.), Nyamin, Nyamera.
Father's brother, omin won, omin worwa
Father's brother's wife, min, minwa mama
Father's brother's child, owat, owadwa
Father's sister, wa, waya
Father's sister's husband, chwor wa, chwor waya
Father's sister's child (boy), wod wa, wod waya
Father's sister's child (girl), nyar wa, nyar waya
Mother's brother, ner, nera
Mother's brother's wife, chi ner, chi nera
Mother's brother's child (boy), woda ner, woda nera
Mother's brother's child (girl), min, mama
Mother's sister, min, mama
Mother's sister's husband, won, wonwa
Mother's sister's child (boy), owat mar nyina hao, owadwa mar nyina hao